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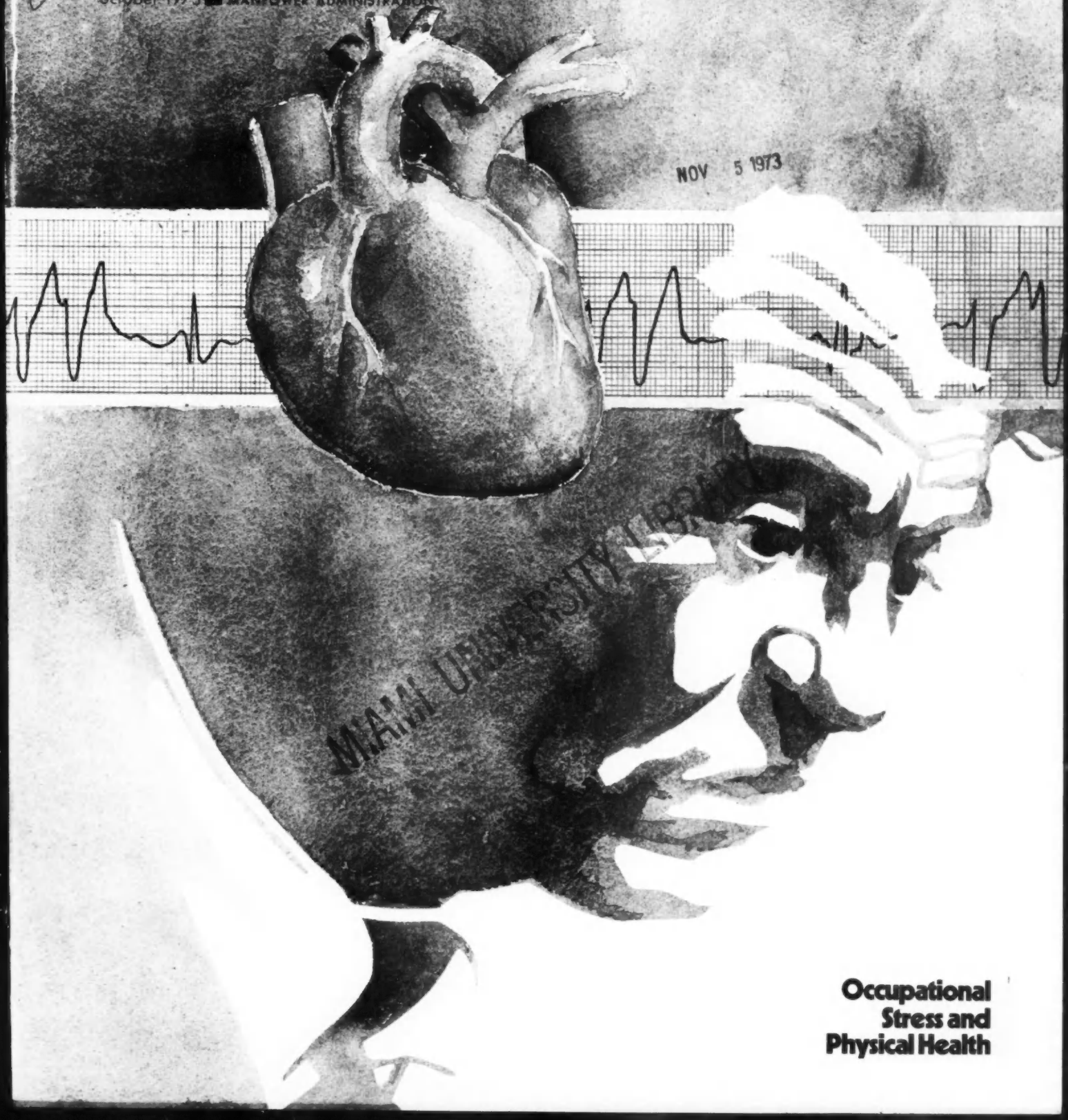

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Occupational Stress and Physical Health

XU

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

In this issue . . .

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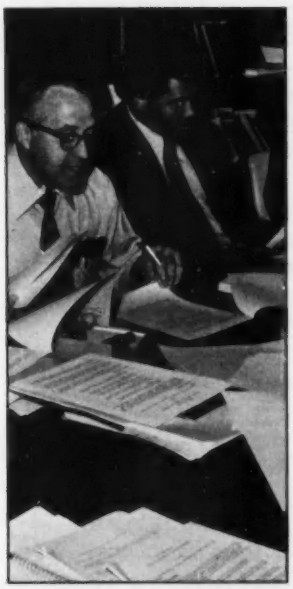

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UNEMPLOYME
1930

by James House

Occupational Stress and Physical Health

Work is undeniably crucial to the effective performance of groups, organizations, and societies. In addition, in the last 30 to 50 years the centrality of work to individual physical and mental health has been increasingly recognized. Work no longer is seen only as a means to survival, but as a vital element in establishing a person's sense of self and personal worth as well.

Considerable attention has been focused on how the social characteristics of work and individual psychological responses to them affect mental health and job performance. In contrast, the effects of work on physical health have been dealt with mainly in relation to the physical environment of work—the physical demands of the job, radiation, quality of air, equipment, lighting, and the like. Yet there is a relatively new but growing body of evidence that the stress generated by the social and psychological nature of work is a major determinant of physical health and disease—in particular of heart disease.

Students of the concept of stress have found it virtually impossible to define in any but the most general terms. Most see stress as something that occurs when an individual confronts a situation in which his usual modes of coping or behaving are insufficient—for example, when demands are made that exceed one's abilities or when there are clear obstacles to fulfilling one's strong needs or values. Thus, such problems as job dissatisfaction, excessive workload or responsibility, interpersonal conflict, and unemployment can all be considered forms of stress.

Initially, most people interested in the effects of work on health tried to ascertain whether objective conditions of work are related to physical health. For example, are men in jobs that involve high workload or responsibility more prone than others to heart attacks, ulcers or hypertension? There is evidence suggesting that this is the case. On the other hand, not all people in such jobs incur these diseases, nor are all people in jobs involving lesser degrees of workload or responsibility immune to them.

This, of course, is an obvious fact, but it suggests that the relationship between objective conditions of work and physical health is more complex than it might seem at first glance. There is a variety of genetic and physiological factors that may account for the same situation having different effects on different individuals. There is also a variety of social and psychological factors that might help account for these differences.

First, not all people perceive the same situation as equally stressful. Persons of differing abilities react differently to the same amount of work or responsibility—some finding it a pleasant challenge, others quite stressful. One person finds a job working with people very satisfying, while another finds it a source of stress or dissatisfaction.

Stress is a subjective response resulting from a combination of particular objective conditions of work and particular personal characteristics. Some situations—highly competitive peers, for example—may also combine with workload or other conditions of work to produce stress.

Second, even if people report the same amount of subjective stress in their work, seldom do they all incur the same type or degree of physical illness. How the person responds to the situation is of crucial importance. In the face of a heavy workload, one person may reorganize his style of work, gain new skills, or call on others for help, while another will flounder along, unable to alleviate the stress, and ultimately will incure a heart attack.

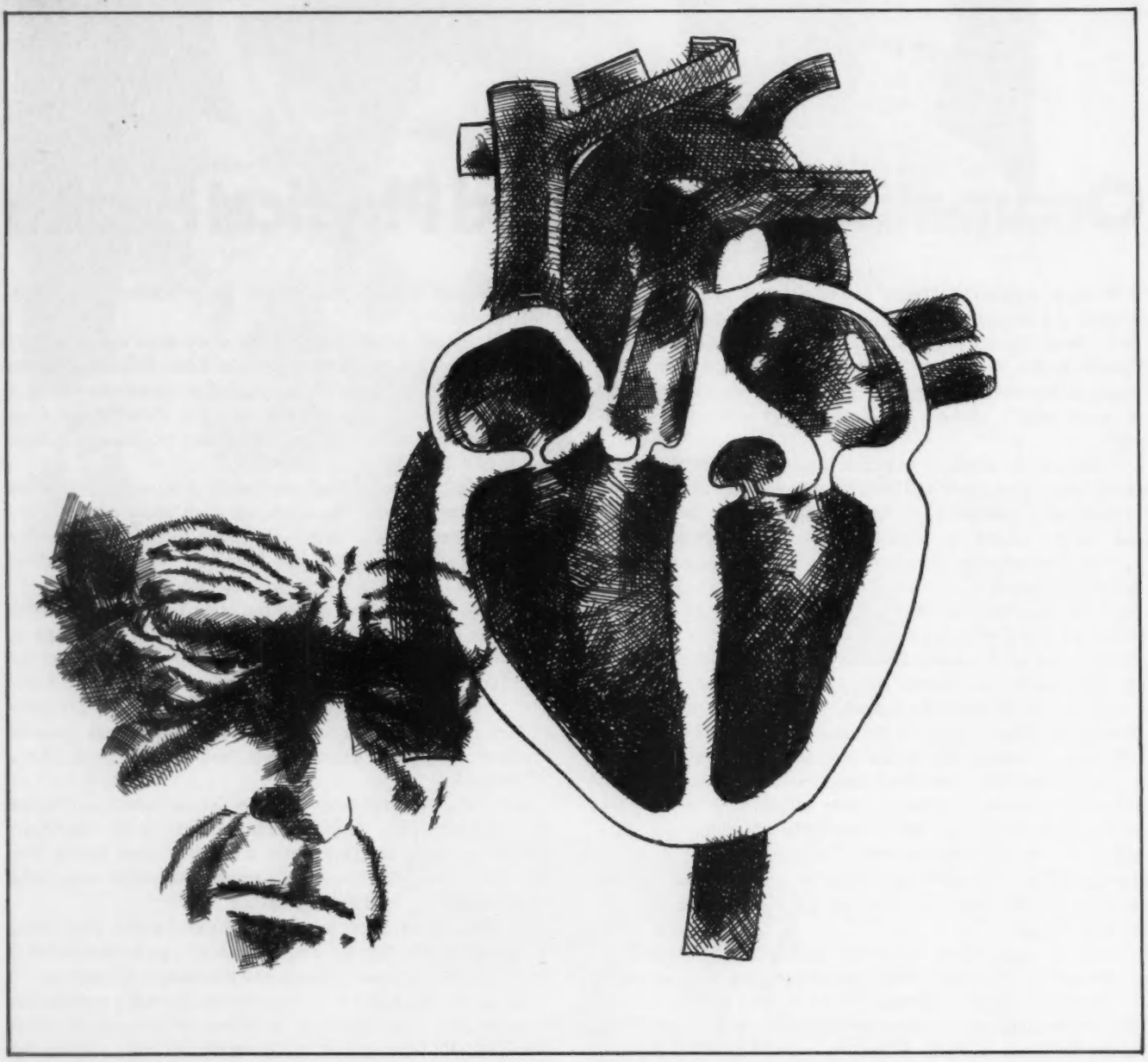
Some attention has been paid to the individual and social characteristics that help determine what work situations generate stress to a degree that it is likely to affect health. Unfortunately, very little is known about how people cope with or respond to stressful work situations.

In planning for future research and social policy concerning work and health, primary emphasis should go to diseases that are the greatest causes of death and disability, especially in the working age population. Cardiovascular diseases, particularly coronary heart disease, dwarf all others as the cause of death and disability. The epidemic proportions of heart disease and related circulatory disorders in modern societies have made them the central focus of most research on the effects of work on physical health. In 1900, cardiovascular diseases accounted for only 20 percent of all deaths in the United States, but this figure rose to 55 percent by 1955 and has remained at that level.

Among the cardiovascular diseases, coronary heart disease or heart attack is by far the most serious problem—accounting for one-third of all deaths and three-fifths of those due to cardiovascular diseases. Heart attack is the leading cause of death among males from age 35 on.

Cancer, the second major cause of death among adults, shows little evidence of having social or psychological precursors. However, the same cannot be said for arthritis and rheumatism and gastrointestinal diseases, which rank second

James House is an assistant professor of sociology at Duke University. This article is drawn from the resource paper he wrote for the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare task force which carried out the *Work in America* study. It and other resource papers for the study were prepared under the auspices of the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research and are being published by M.I.T. Press, 28 Carleton St., Cambridge, Mass. 02142, under the tentative title, WORK AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE: RESOURCE PAPERS FOR THE WORK IN AMERICA STUDY.



and fourth respectively behind cardiovascular disease as sources of disability.

Two kinds of evidence suggest the important role of work-related stress in determining physical disease. First, there are standard epidemiological studies that compare morbidity or mortality rates demographically by race, sex, age, occupation, education, and region. Such data are useful in developing hypotheses about the effect of occupational stress in physical disease. But only more focused research relates specific types of stress to disease, and shows that the differences in the amount of occupational stress experienced by various demographic categories account, at least in part, for group differences in mortality or morbidity.

In general, we know that women, whites, and persons of higher educational or social status live longer and have lower age-adjusted mortality rates for many, though not all, diseases. Social status differentials are greater among women than men, and larger for communicable diseases that for the major chronic diseases such as ulcer, stroke, arthritis, cancer, or heart disease. These data suggest that the social status and race differentials in mortality rates probably stem more from poor living conditions and medical care or from social stress outside of work than from occupational stresses.

There are, of course, occupational differences in the incidence of most diseases, but the reasons for these remain unclear. The difference in longevity between males and females, however, suggests that work plays a central role in the genesis of disease. The greater occupational involvement of men is

'The most striking fact about the distribution of coronary heart disease in America is the degree to which it afflicts young and middle-aged males . . .'

one of the clearest differences between the sexes.

Physiological, hormonal, and hereditary differences between men and women are other possible explanations of greater female longevity.

Unfortunately, most research on the effects of work on physical health has considered men only. The increasing pressure for greater equality between men and women in the realm of work and elsewhere provides a good opportunity for looking at the effects of work on female health. If social and psychological factors in work are important determinants of male-female differences in mortality and longevity, then such differences should decline with greater equality between the sexes.

The best evidence we have that stress and satisfaction in life and work determine mortality and longevity comes from Erdman Palmore's analyses of data from the Duke University Longitudinal Study of Aging—a panel study of 268 volunteers who were 60-94 years old (median age 70) at the time of their initial interview and physical examination. Although not a random sample, the distribution of the volunteers by sex, race, and occupation approximated that of the area from which they were drawn.

Work Satisfaction Linked to Longevity

For the total sample, a measure of work satisfaction was the strongest predictor of longevity, and it remained one of the three strongest predictors for all sex, age, or racial subgroups of the sample except for blacks. The second best longevity predictor in the total sample was the respondent's overall "happiness" as rated by the interviewing social worker. It is especially notable that these two social-psychological measures predicted longevity better than either overall physical condition as rated by the examining physician or a measure of use of tobacco, and that they remained strong predictors even when these latter physical variables were statistically controlled.

From this evidence, it appears that work satisfaction may be an important determinant of general health and longevity, especially in males. Palmore defined work satisfaction as being able to engage in productive work and enjoying that work. Both these factors are linked to changes in health status, especially heart disease, for younger members of the labor force as well as for older people.

The most striking fact about the distribution of coronary heart disease in America is the degree to which it afflicts young and middle-aged males and spares young and middle-aged white females. Throughout the period of peak occupational endeavor (ages 25-64), the mortality rate from chronic heart disease is from 2.75 to 6.50 times greater for men than for women among whites, and 1.35 to 1.91 times greater for men than women among nonwhites.

Interestingly, few people have speculated on the possibly critical role of occupational stress in producing these sex differences in heart disease death rates. One group of researchers discounts the possibility that the unique hormonal makeup of women before menopause can account for the difference because there is no noticeable increase in female death rates following menopause. But these same researchers suggest we look only to differences in diet, physical activity, and smoking as explanations.

Earlier it was noted that if occupational stress is a factor in explaining sex differences in both overall and chronic heart disease mortality, the difference should decline as female employment and equality increase. In fact, since the late 1950's the male rate seems to have leveled off, while the female rate (for ages 35-54) is rising.

The wide occupational variation in morbidity and mortality rates for chronic heart disease also points to the possible importance of occupational stress as a factor. In a number of studies, people in occupations involving greater stress were found to have higher susceptibility to heart disease. But this kind of occupational comparison has not, on the whole, produced interpretable results since little effort has been made to specify the types of stress that vary across occupations. Any effort to establish work-related stress as a precursor of heart disease must identify specific kinds of stress and consider how these are differentially distributed across occupations.

A number of studies in the United States and other countries have found that persons with coronary disease report significantly more job dissatisfaction and difficulties than healthy workers. An analysis of three different samples of occupations showed that those occupations with high average rates of dissatisfaction also had high death rates from heart disease. Further, no relationship was found between job dissatisfaction and death rates from a variety of other causes (tuberculosis, cancer, diabetes, influenza, pneumonia, and accidents).

Closely related to job satisfaction is a man's sense of self-esteem in his work. Stanislav Kasl and Sidney Cobb have reported results of a longitudinal study of blue-collar workers who lost their jobs due to the closing of several factories. They found that low self-esteem (self-esteem declined with loss of job and rose when the men found new jobs) was associated with high or increased levels of heart disease risk factors, such as blood pressure, cholesterol, and blood sugar. Thus, unemployment is one social factor contributing to low self-esteem

and, hence, poorer health prognosis. Among professional workers, however, other research has found no clear, direct relationships between self-esteem and heart disease risk factors.

More closely related to what people normally think of as occupational stress are the effects of high levels of work, responsibility, and conflict or ambiguity in occupational roles—what will be termed here as job pressures. A series of studies has found that feelings of work overload are associated with elevated heart disease risk in a variety of populations.

Among 104 university professors, men who felt overloaded had significantly higher cholesterol and significantly lower self-esteem. This finding is in line with earlier studies that found marked increases in serum cholesterol in tax accountants as the April 15 income tax return deadline approached, and in medical students on the day before exams. It is plausible that these changes are attributable to increased workload under the pressure of tax deadlines or examinations. They also highlight what it is about work overload, as opposed to sheer workload, that makes it stressful—the feeling that one does not have enough time or ability and, hence, may fail.

Further support for the role of occupational stress in heart disease risk was obtained in my recent study of 288 men in a wide variety of both white-collar (the focus of most of the previous research) and blue-collar jobs. A composite measure of job pressures was associated with significantly greater heart disease risk in virtually the whole range of occupations.

Several studies have documented a relationship between occupational pressure and actual coronary heart disease. One

'. . . different individuals may respond to the same job differently in terms of real or perceived stress . . .'

researcher asked a number of practicing professionals to rank several categories of practice within the fields of medicine, dentistry, and law in terms of the amount of occupational stress involved in each speciality. Regardless of the specific profession involved, individuals in high stress categories reported a higher incidence of coronary disease.

In a study of 100 young coronary patients compared with an equal number in a control group, it was found that "prolonged emotional strain associated with job responsibility" preceded the heart attacks of 91 percent of the patients, while such strain was evident in only 20 percent of the control group.

Thus, there is a consistent evidence that job pressures play a significant role in increasing levels of heart disease risk and actual coronary heart disease. Further corroboration of these results appears in data on personality and social situational factors.

A final set of factors seems important as a source of occupational stress leading to heart disease, although its exact social and psychological meaning is unclear. A variety of evidence indicates that a history of occupational mobility or rapid change in occupational environment predisposes men to heart disease.

Since different individuals may respond to the same job differently in terms of real or perceived stress, it seems probable that personal characteristics and subjective judgments play a significant role in the relationship between work and heart disease. This apparent relationship is supported by a large and growing body of literature indicating that men with a certain type of behavior pattern are most prone to coronary heart disease. This behavior pattern has been extensively investigated by three physicians, Meyer Friedman, Ray Rosenman, and David Jenkins. Labeled Type A behavior-pattern, it is characterized by ". . . excessive drive, aggressiveness, ambition, involvement in competitive activities, frequent vocational deadlines, (and) an enhanced sense of time urgency. . . . The converse . . . pattern, called Type B, is characterized by the relative absence of this interplay of psychological traits and situational pressures."

In a series of studies (including an ongoing study of 3,400 men now in its eighth year) Type A men have been shown to be significantly higher on known heart disease risk factors than Type B men and significantly more likely to have an actual heart attack. The risk of recurrent and fatal heart attacks has also been shown to be higher for Type A men. Other investigators have found similar results.

The meaning of these results remains unclear, however, since the Type A pattern reflects an interplay of psychological traits and situational pressures. To some extent these results may be a further demonstration of the importance of work overload and other job pressures reviewed above. What role is played by psychological traits? One possibility is that the Type A person self-selects himself into jobs involving greater stress, although no direct empirical test of this proposition has been made.

It may be that the key psychological trait of the Type A man is that he seeks social achievement and thus his motivation for working is extrinsic—a desire for money, status, and recognition—as opposed to intrinsic motivation—a desire for interesting, self-satisfying work. One study I conducted predicted that persons with extrinsic motivations for working were more likely to select themselves into jobs involving greater occupational stress and, hence, to experience heart disease.

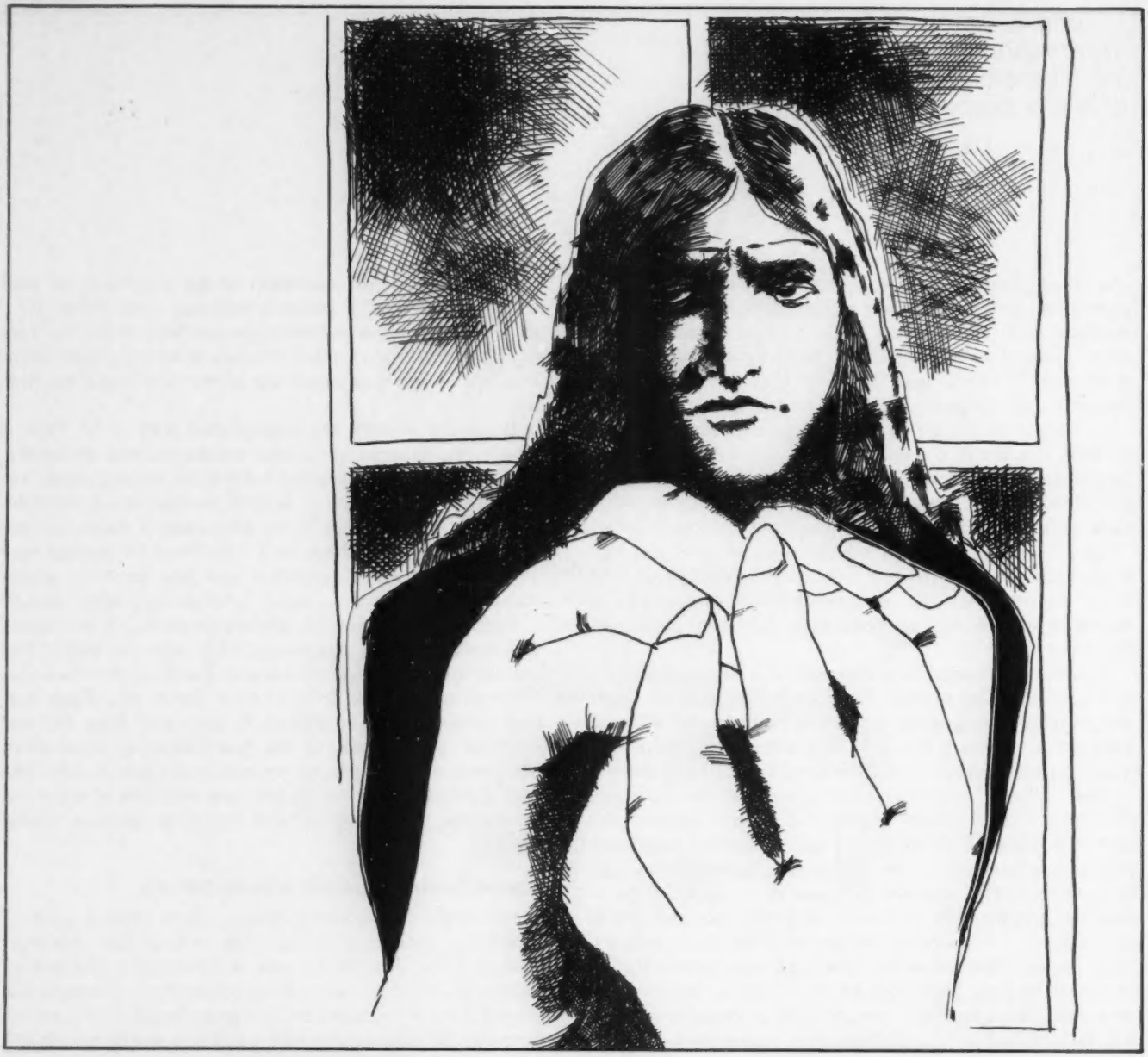
Considerable support for this hypothesis was found among white-collar workers, but among blue-collar workers it was intrinsic motivation that was associated with reports of occupational stress and higher levels of heart disease risk. These findings indicate that it is difficult to generalize from the predominant type of study in this field (involving white-collar, often professional, workers) to men in all types of jobs. The role of personality in leading men into situations of stress and accentuating the effects of such situations deserves further research.

Social Support on Job Eases Stress

Just as personality factors may determine whether a person experiences stress and how he reacts to it, so may characteristics of the work situation, such as social and organizational change. Alternatively, the work environment may provide social support from peers, superiors, and subordinates that improves the ability of men to cope with job stress, and hence, should enhance physical and mental health.

Among professionals in the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) who report high levels of social support from coworkers, there is little relationship between perceived occupational stress and heart disease risk, while for men who report low levels of social support, occupational stress clearly increases heart disease risk. Similar results have been attained in industrial work groups where measures of mental health were the relevant variable. And it has been hypothesized that the low rate of heart disease in Japan is due not to the presence of less occupational stress but rather to the structure of Japanese work and social organizations that provides greater support for the individual.

Peptic ulcer and rheumatoid arthritis are two other diseases in which social or occupational stress may play a role. Although



the data are fairly sparse, the distribution of peptic ulcer and some of its occupational correlates show marked similarities to heart disease. Peptic ulcer, like heart disease, is several times more common in males than females, and is especially frequent in white males. Also, as with heart disease, there has been a decrease in peptic ulcers in males since 1957, while rates of peptic ulcers have been rising for younger women. But unlike heart disease, death from peptic ulcer is clearly more frequent in lower social classes. Again, the sex differences and trends suggest the relevance of occupational factors.

There have been a variety of studies of differences in the incidence of peptic ulcer among occupational groups. Most suggest that jobs involving greater responsibility or interpersonal tension and conflict predispose men to ulcers. Home responsibilities on top of job responsibilities seem to increase the risk of ulcers. Ulcers are more common in men with more children, and younger women who both work and have family responsibilities have been found to be more prone to ulcers than women who have responsibilities in only one domain.

The greater prevalence of ulcers in lower than in higher status groups deserves note. One set of findings shows that self-esteem in work decreases with decreasing social status, while occurrence of peptic ulcer rises as self-esteem declines. Thus, low self-esteem (often resulting from low status) may predispose people to ulcers as well as to heart disease.

The evidence on rheumatoid arthritis presents quite a different picture. The disease is more common in women than men, at least in its mild to moderately severe forms. No clear

'. . . rheumatoid arthritis . . . is more common in women than in men, at least in its mild to moderately severe forms.'

sex differences exist at severe and disabling levels. Like many diseases, rheumatoid arthritis is more prevalent in lower social strata, but in contrast to most other diseases this is more true for males than females.

Studies relating occupational factors to rheumatoid arthritis are almost nonexistent. What data are available suggest that, in line with what the greater prevalence in women might lead us to expect, occupational stress may be a relatively less important factor in rheumatoid arthritis than in heart disease or peptic ulcers.

Interpersonal conflict in family settings has been most clearly shown to relate to increased prevalence of rheumatoid arthritis. Research shows that persons with rheumatoid arthritis tend to be sensitive and inhibited in expressing anger, hence they are likely to harbor resentment in the face of conflict. There is no reason that such conflicts at work as well as at home might not produce rheumatoid arthritis in people with this type of personality, but no clear evidence exists.

There is already considerable evidence that occupational stress is a factor that increases disability and death from physical disease, especially heart disease. The policy implications of these results are two-fold. First, what we have learned so far suggests the need for further research and for developing the competence of social science and medical researchers to do such work.

Areas for Further Research Suggested

Second, there is good reason to begin experimentation with disease prevention programs, including efforts to manipulate relevant occupational stresses. Research will help to identify the most relevant sociological factors contributing to disease; field experiments will test both the feasibility of manipulating these factors and the effects of the manipulations. Such field experiments are crucial to establishing causality and estimating the magnitude of the effects of social and psychological variables on physical health.

Several areas of research deserve greater attention. Within specific occupations or organizations, there should be more studies of blue-collar workers, women, and blacks. To learn more about these groups and to understand the degree to which our knowledge from studies in specific organizations can be generalized, a limited number of studies in representative populations also should be encouraged.

The more limited studies should serve as the crucial area for refining our theoretical knowledge about the nature of occupational stress and its effects on individuals. The complex interplay between the person and his environment, including processes of coping with stress, deserves special attention.

Essentially, future research should seek information on objective conditions of work, subjective perceptions of stress, and individual and social situational characteristics that have a bearing on the relationship between occupational stress and physical health. These studies can help provide answers to such questions as:

- Are certain kinds of individuals more likely to seek out objective conditions conducive to stress, and are these persons more likely to perceive a given objective situation as stressful?
- To what degree are the effects of objective conditions of work mediated through subjective perceptions of stress?
- What kinds of coping or adaptation responses mitigate or exacerbate the effects of stress on health?
- What individual and social characteristics determine the kind of strategy a person chooses for coping with given stresses?

It would be rash to assert that our present knowledge of the effects of occupational stress on health offers clear guides to social intervention strategies. Moreover, efforts to reduce disease, prolong life, reduce stress, and increase satisfaction should not be undertaken without consideration of the costs as well as benefits of such strategies.

Nevertheless, some initial kinds of experimental programs should be tried. At the individual level, efforts can be made to modify, or at least make people aware of, personality and behavioral traits that may threaten their health—somewhat analagous to efforts to change patterns of diet, smoking, or exercise. Attempts also may be made to train individuals to cope better with stresses that confront them.

In the social environment, efforts can be made to alter workload, responsibility, or interpersonal conflict, by dividing work responsibility and altering patterns of communication and lines of authority. Structural arrangements also may be created to increase levels of social support in the face of stress. Finally, job selection and placement procedures offer a way to improve the fit between individuals and their job environments.

The accumulating evidence that various forms of occupational stress contribute significantly to increased rates of physical diseases, as well as other social problems, argues strongly for efforts to improve the quality of work in American society. Such efforts should produce gains in physical health as well as in other social indicators. In many ways, the effects of occupational stress on physical health document the economic and human price this Nation is paying for having emphasized too long the physical and economic nature of work at the expense of its social and psychological components. □

Pointing Parolees Toward the Mainstream

Manpower Program Permits Parole Board to Train and Hire Its Own Clients

by Dolores Board

"Life begins at 40."

To most people, that is a cliche. To George Blockum, it is a truism as well.

"For the first time in my life," says the 45-year-old Blockum, "I really enjoy what I am doing and want to stay with it." Blockum, a former confidence man who has spent 10 years in prison, is working as a human service aide trainee for the Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole. His job, and the opportunity to give his life a new direction, are being made possible by an Operation Mainstream project sponsored by the Board of Parole and Probation with funds from the Manpower Administration.

It is believed that the Pennsylvania project marks the first use of Operation Mainstream to deal exclusively with the job problems of ex-offenders. Mainstream participants, most of whom are older people, are employed by agencies and nonprofit organizations, usually in rural areas and small towns where they work on conservation, beautification, and recreation projects.

The ex-offender project represents not only a departure for Mainstream, but a new role as well for the Board of Probation and Parole—that of serving as a training agency. The work experience and training the former convicts get are designed to prepare them for full-time employment with the Board, with other public agencies, or with private firms.

Daniel Bernstein, director of the Board's Bureau of Special Services, which administers the Mainstream project, sees the hiring and training of ex-offenders as a logical extension of the Parole Board's mission. "Changing lives is a major effort of correctional agencies," Bernstein says. And since work for the Board often involves close contact with the community, it can serve as a natural link in the rehabilitative process, he points out.

Mainstream project director Craig Ford said ex-offenders are recommended for the program by their parole agents. The Bureau of Special Services determines eligibility—participants must qualify as disadvantaged—and the Parole Board makes the final decision.

Ford points out that project participants have multiple employment handicaps—they must contend with the shadows of their past, most are middle aged, and many have little education. The program offers them a steady income as they readjust to the world of work while acquiring job skills.

Project participants, classified as State Work Program Trainees, are hired and trained as human service aides or mainte-

Dolores Board is a member of the U.S. Department of Labor information staff.

nance or clerical workers. They earn $176.25 biweekly and are entitled to most of the benefits regular employees receive. Trainees are assigned to one of the Parole Board's 10 district offices located throughout the State. There, they may be assigned to work in a suboffice or community center located in a high-crime area.

In addition to on-the-job training, participants receive intensive counseling and remedial education, if needed, as part of plans individually tailored to enable them to move into full-time, unsubsidized jobs. The training plan is developed jointly by the participant's parole agent and the supervisor of the Parole Board office where he is assigned. Ford emphasizes that a great deal of flexibility is permitted to allow for maximum development of the individual's capabilities while also meeting the needs of the job. Generally, the plan covers a 6-month period and is designed to:

- Develop occupational skills for gainful employment.
- Build the participant's confidence in his work capability.
- Provide counseling to help participants overcome personal and other barriers to employment and readjustment.
- Establish a work record that participants can use as a reference when seeking future employment.

In terms of participants' job assignments, most people associated with the project feel that ex-offenders who work as human service aides can make an especially important contribution to the Parole Board. William C. Boor, chairman of the State Board of Probation and Parole, points out that the demand for skilled personnel to carry out parole rehabilitation is acute, and in this respect the human service aides have significant responsibilities.

"We sort of identify. They believe me," says Blockum of his relationship as a Parole Board employee with other offenders. He admits he's had a few tough cases, but adds, "I generally bring them around. And they can't often fool me."

Blockum entered the project in December 1972. From the time of his release from the Philadelphia County Prison in October 1970, he had obtained only sporadic employment, generally in jobs which offered little or no chance for advancement. Determined "to stay out of trouble," he became a frequent visitor to the Haddington Parole Center in a high-crime area of Philadelphia.

His performance, according to his probation officer and the Haddington office supervisor, has been "above average." Both say that Blockum, while still in training, was pretty much "working on his own." Blockum investigates preparole plans. This requires personal visits with the offender's family and friends as well as with a wide range of community residents, businessmen, and service agencies. Based on these discussions, he submits an evaluation of and recommendations on the preparole plan.

In addition to investigative duties, Blockum assists in group counseling at the Haddington Center. These "rap" sessions are designed to aid ex-offenders in general as well as those with special problems

George Blockum (left) discusses his work as a human services aide trainee with the Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole with George Barbour (center), Parole Board deputy district supervisor for the Philadelphia District, and Craig Ford, supervisor of manpower training and social services for the Board.

Parolees

such as alcoholism and drug abuse. He also routinely checks listings at City Hall of parole and probation violators and assists in locating those who have fled.

The Board is seeking to obtain a scholarship at Temple University for Blockum to continue his education. He obtained his high school equivalency certificate (GED) while in military service, studied business administration for a year at Booker T. Washington Business College in Birmingham, Ala., and has taken a number of correspondence courses. He now is in the process of completing the necessary tests to be hired by the Board as a permanent human service aide.

Blockum is one of 62 persons who have participated in the project since it began in June 1972. Twenty-five ex-offenders still are in training, 23 have completed training, and 14 have been terminated, most of them—according to project director Ford—because of poor attendance. Of the 23 who have completed their training, 17 have been placed in permanent jobs—16 with private employers and one with the Board. One former participant is attending college and five have been referred to the State employment service for job placement. The man hired by the Parole Board—in a clerical position—is a 48-year-old probationer. As a trainee, he submitted a recommendation to improve recordkeeping that reduced costs and earned him a letter of citation.

The project has received $126,000 in Federal funds and $99,000 in State funds. This money has been well spent in the view of Parole Board Chairman Boor. "With better than a 50 percent placement rate," Boor said, "this program strengthens the Board's conviction that its own clients can provide a valuable service in helping safeguard the community through successful reintegration of the ex-offender into the community."

Three project participants to date have been returned to prison. And even in one of these instances, some benefit was derived from enrollment in the program. One trainee assisted in apprehending the robbers of a service station, only to be caught himself in a similar situation a few weeks later.

But for most others—people like George Blockum—the project has been the beginning of a new life. □

Human Service Aide Ollie Johnson (left) talks with parolee Thomas George about the Mainstream Program.

Parole agent Albert Mertz (left) checks with Benjamin London, assistant supervisor of the Parole Board's Narcotics Unit, on the progress of one of Mertz' clients whose Mainstream work assignment is with the Narcotics Unit.

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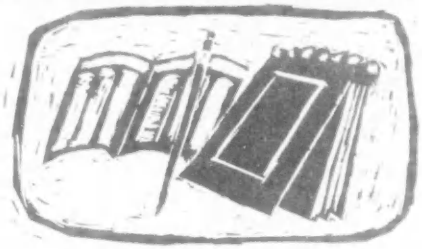
News & Notes



How do you spread the word about jobs and training to minority groups? To help answer that question the Manpower Administration's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (BAT) has compiled a Directory for Reaching Minority Groups. It lists individuals and organizations throughout the country that can be helpful in reaching blacks, Hispanos, Indians, or other minority groups. Organizations and individuals are listed alphabetically by State and city, with address and telephone number. The directory includes Federal, State, and local government units, community action agencies, black universities, black fraternities and sororities, BAT field offices, Apprenticeship Outreach projects, Apprenticeship Information Centers, State apprenticeship agencies, newspapers and radio and television stations, and religious organizations. The directory can be purchased for $2.60 from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402 (please specify stock number 2906-0005).

* * *

Calling college credentials "an often arbitrary and unnecessary prerequisite," William F. Pierce, deputy commissioner for Occupational and Adult Education in the U.S. Office of Education, has called for high school students to receive a much broader exposure to a variety of occupations. Only 20 percent of all jobs now require a college degree, Pierce told a National Apprenticeship and Training Directors Conference in Washington.

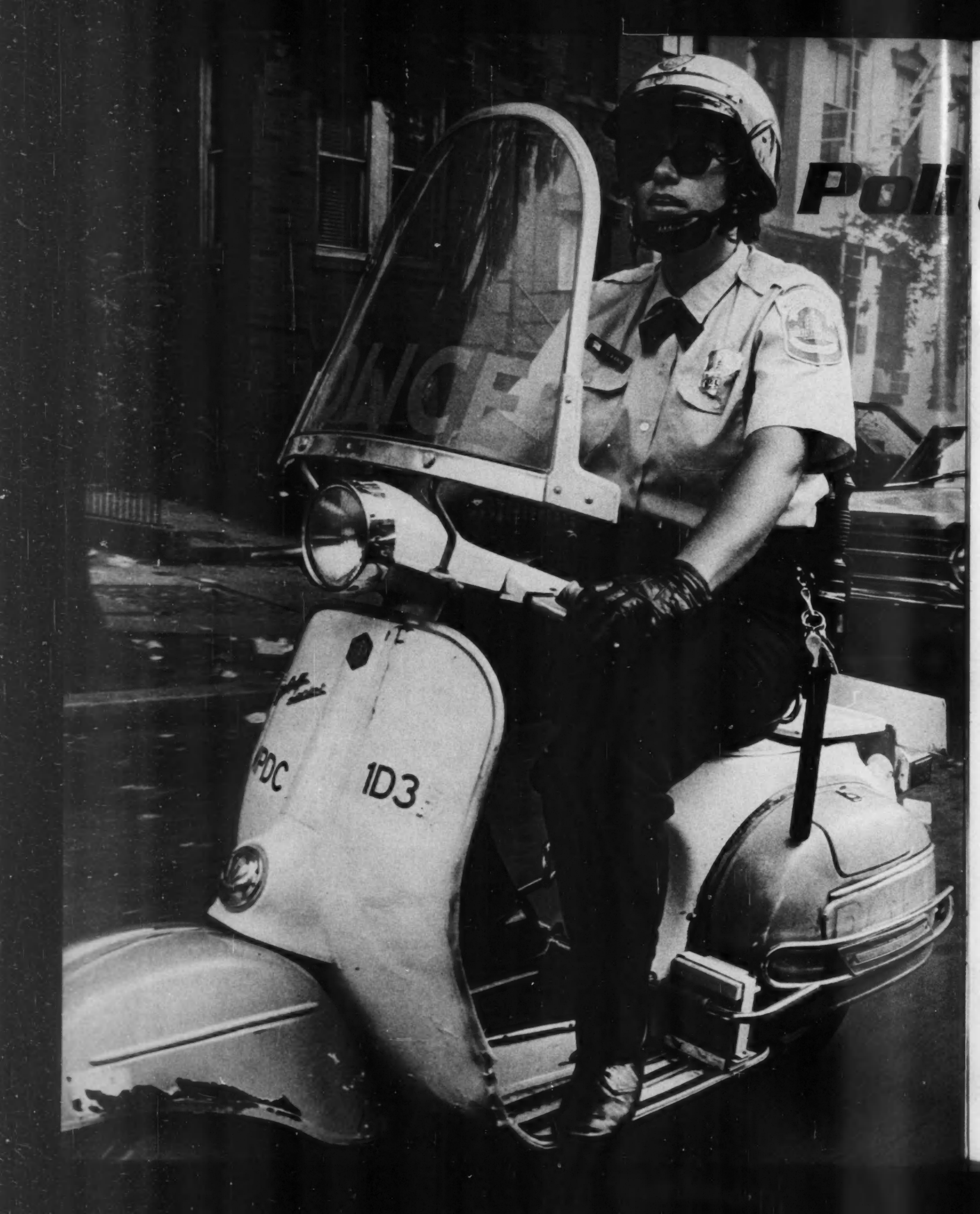
* * *

Three times as many black children (43 percent) as white (14 percent) live in families where the father is absent, unemployed, or out of the labor force, according to a special study conducted by the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics. Among families headed by women, 55 percent of the white children, as contrasted to 44 percent of the black children, had working mothers. The fact that white mothers in the study had better educations and were less likely to have preschool children helps account for the higher proportion of working mothers among white than black women, the study says.

Applications now are being accepted for the first Arthur J. Altmeyer Fellowship in unemployment insurance. The fellowship provides a full year of expense-paid study or research at the school of the recipient's choice. Fellowship candidates must be 5-year career employees of a State agency or the U.S. Department of Labor whose principal responsibilities are related to unemployment insurance. All fellowship costs, including payment of the recipient's salary during the study period, will be borne by the Federal Government. Announcement of the fellowship recipient will be made in March 1974; study begins in July 1974. The fellowship honors the late Arthur Altmeyer, a pioneer in the development of social insurance in the United States. Fellowship information and applications can be obtained from training offices of the State employment security agencies or the Manpower Administration.

* * *

Some 4,900 unemployed and underemployed people will be trained for jobs in the construction and machine tool industries under Manpower Administration contracts, with four trade industry associations and two unions. A $221,000 contract with the Associated General Contractors calls for the development of 1,500 building and construction jobs among its 9,500 building contractor members throughout the country. Hiring and training for the jobs will be carried out through the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program. More than 800 people in 23 States will be trained or upgraded on the job by masonry and plastering firms under a $751,000 contract involving the Portland Cement Association and the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association, AFL-CIO. Another 800 persons in seven Southern States will get on-the-job training as construction laborers through an $816,000 contract with the Laborers' International Union. The National Tool, Die, and Precision Machining Association has signed a $1.1 million contract to develop subcontracts among its 1,600 member shops to train 820 new hires in 13 States. An $800,000 contract with the National Machine Tool Builders Association provides for training for 600 new workers and skill upgrading for 400 employees in low-level jobs. The training will be carried out by association members in 19 States.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icewomen on Patrol

by Patricia Marshall

"My hearty thanks go to the Metropolitan Police for hiring such beautiful traffic cops," the letter to the editor of the WASHINGTON STAR-NEWS began.

"Every weekday morning . . . I get to see a darling redhead at L and Connecticut," the letter went on. "She is proficient as well as cute. . . . On my way home each evening, I start my journey with a refreshing whistle and arm wave from a gorgeous blonde at 17th and K. Her arm wave has a lot of style, and we could use more of that. But, even as much as the blonde impresses me with her grace and demure (manner), I've got a special soft spot for redheads; so my heart belongs at L and Connecticut. . . .

"If this be sexism, make the most of it!"

Since the spring of last year, when the District of Columbia Police Department started putting women on the street to control traffic, the city's drivers and pedestrians have grown accustomed to taking stop and go orders from women in blue. The assignment of women to traffic duty —although hailed by the author of the letter to the editor as mere ornamentation of the landscape—represents an important breakthrough for women in police work.

Generally, police departments restrict women to such jobs as juvenile officer, matron, or secretary. To get such jobs, women often must pass through more selective standards than those used for men. Many police departments, for example, require a college degree of women applicants while men can get by with only a high school diploma. In recent years, the narrow role and unequal requirements for women have been challenged, most strongly by the fact that last year Congress extended the equal employment opportunity provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to cover employment in State and local governments. This has opened the door to legal thrusts against time-honored but male-oriented police personnel practices.

Can a woman perform the same police tasks as a man? Under the law, this is a key question. While opinions on the subject are plentiful, facts are not, and for this reason a few police departments are trying women out on new assignments and carefully evaluating the results. One of the most extensive efforts is underway in Washington, D.C., where the stated goal of the police department is "to achieve complete interchangeability of policemen and policewomen in as many areas as possible." The D.C. police are placing women not only on regular traffic details but also on one of the most complex and potentially hazardous assignments in police work: Patrol.

Ads Beamed at Women

Last year the department recruited, hired, and trained women from the local community for uniformed patrol duty. To attract them (as it turned out, there was no shortage of applicants), the department reoriented some of its advertising, which previously was aimed only at men. Along with new ads that included what the police personnel director calls "the total police family"—blacks, whites, men, and women—a few ads were beamed specifically at women.

Eighty women were hired and, in addition, 27 women who were already in the department were reassigned to patrol duty. It was the first time that any city in the United States had hired a substantial number of women and given them the same patrol responsibilities as men, according to the Police Foundation, a nonprofit agency set up by the Ford Foundation to help police agencies adopt promising new programs.

The foundation is sponsoring an Urban Institute evaluation of policewomen's performance in this assignment in the Nation's Capital. This study, *Policewomen on Patrol*, is the first major attempt to gather data on the actual performance of women on patrol, the institute says. The first study report[1] covers the initial 4 months of the D.C. experience. It is in three volumes—a summary of the findings so far, and two volumes on evaluation methodology which help in assessing the validity of the findings. With a dearth of other data on policewomen in "men's jobs," these findings seem likely to affect practices of police departments across the Nation.

According to the Urban Institute report, changes that have improved the status of women in the D.C. Police Department began with the arrival of Jerry V. Wilson as chief in mid-1969. Wilson made all entrance requirements for women, except for weight, the same as those for men. He also opened up to women nonuniform positions outside the women's bureau and youth division. Early last year, after the arrival of policewomen's uniforms—navy blue jackets and skirts (slacks are optional)—women were assigned to patrol duty for the first time and recruitment started for the patrolwomen program.

Two police districts, one covering much of the downtown area and the other a low-income residential section, were selected for the experiment. All women recruited and hired for the program and more than half of the reassigned policewomen were placed in these districts, where they make up about 13 percent of the patrol force. The rest of the reassigned women are scattered throughout the city.

Patricia Marshall is assistant editor of MANPOWER.

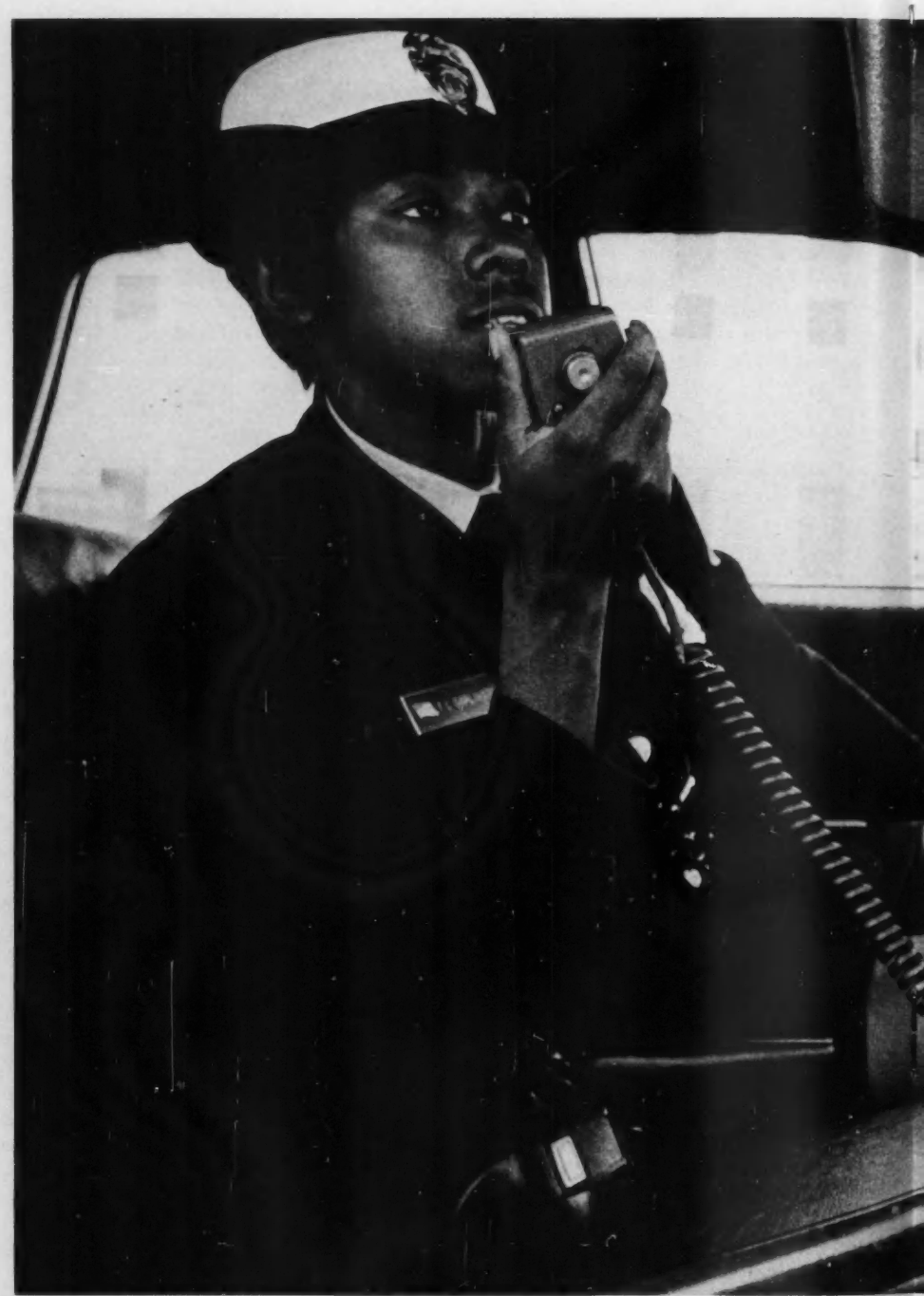
[1] The report is available without charge from the Urban Institute, 2100 M St. NW., Washington, D. C. 20037.

Policewomen

For purposes of the institute study, each of the 80 new policewomen was matched with a male recruit who entered the training academy at the same time. All of the "comparison men" work in two police districts that closely resemble in crime, racial composition, and residential characteristics those in which the women are concentrated.

Reassigned women were evaluated separately and less intensively. The institute found it hard to get an adequate comparison group among male officers because all of the reassigned women were not located in the experimental districts and most had opposed being put on patrol.

Patrol duty for Officer Thelma Garlington of the District of Columbia Police includes checking with businessmen on her beat like liquor store owner Mike Fingerman.



Using the two-way radio in her scout car, Officer Garlington checks with the dispatcher.

Labor Dept. photos by Harrison Allen

District of Columbia Police Officer Sandra Kron, who is assigned to scooter patrol, uses a call box to report to her district station.

Many had jobs with higher prestige than is given to patrol positions in the police world. Others resisted giving up daytime work with weekends off for the shifting, round-the-clock schedules of patrol duty.

Police Chief Wilson stated at the outset of the program that the policewomen were to be treated like regular patrol officers. However, in the spring of last year, Wilson found it necessary to spell out what he meant. Several cases of special treatment had cropped up. There were instances of women getting more than their share of station duty or other special assignments. The Chief also learned that some units had been instructed to use a special designation when giving dispatchers the identity of a police car in which a policewoman was present. In place of the routine designations ("10-99" is used when one officer is present, and "10-4" is used if there are two officers), cars with a male-female team had been told to use either "10-4W" or "10-99."

To end these discriminatory practices, Wilson issued detailed instructions stating that there were to be no special beats, cars, designations, or other special considerations for patrolwomen. Like patrolmen, they were to be assigned to scout cars, foot beats, and other duty in order to learn all aspects of the job. When they

gained experience, they were to be considered for assignment alone, he said.

In evaluating the policewomen's performance, the Urban Institute used a variety of measures—surveys of police and community attitudes toward patrolwomen; interviews with people requesting or observing police services; observation of policewomen and "comparison men" on duty; and information from district commanders on officer assignments, arrests made, tickets issued for moving traffic violations, and the commanders' evaluation of officer performance.

The first attitude survey was taken before women went out on patrol. Thirty-six patrolmen, asked for anonymous opinions, proved to have strong negative attitudes about women doing patrol duty. Most thought their fellow officers would not believe them if they said they had a female partner who was better than many male officers. Over half thought women would get favored treatment. About half of the married men thought their wives would strongly oppose their having a woman as a patrol partner.

These negative attitudes persisted after women were put on patrol. Asked if they thought women should be a regular part of the patrol force, nearly half of all patrolmen and police officials surveyed said, "No." However, opinions varied greatly by race and age. Blacks were more favorable than whites—often, they said that women have special skills or traits that are valuable for police work—and younger patrolmen were more favorable than were older men.

However, the response of patrolwomen was heartily positive: 82 percent felt that women should be on the regular patrol force.

Other opinions that surfaced in attitude surveys of the police force were:

• Both men and women on patrol preferred to have male partners, but the

If she makes an arrest while on scooter patrol, Officer Kron must call her district station for transport of the person.

Arrest procedures call for Officer Garlington to check carefully for weapons.

women's preference was "less pronounced."

- Patrolmen and officials thought that men are more likely than women to be calm and cool, courageous, persuasive, strong, decisive, aggressive, observant, and emotionally stable. They thought women were more understanding, compassionate, and intelligent.
- Policemen tended to think that having a large number of women on patrol would make their jobs more difficult. Officials—who were permitted to cite multiple reasons for their responses—often said that women are "not strong," "hard to supervise and discipline," "slow to learn policework," "undependable," "lack confidence in themselves as patrol officers," "interested in their salary, not in their job," and "can't drive well." Other recurring comments were that women take sick leave more often; get injured more often (there was no indication that new patrolwomen were getting injured more often than the "comparison men," the Police Foundation report says); cannot handle violent situations, especially if they involve males; and men feel protective of policewomen—or women seek protection from them.
- Policemen and policewomen agreed that women are more likely than men to give satisfactory service in handling rape victims, and that men and women write reports and make prostitute arrests equally well.

In practice, policewomen fared somewhat better on patrol than many of the policemen predicted. They performed all of the major activities required of young patrol officers to the same degree as their male counterparts, the Urban Institute report says. They were on patrol in two-officer cars more than half of the time; 11 percent of the time they were assigned to a two-officer foot beat. The major difference in their assignments was that they

were put on station duty 10.7 percent of the time, about twice as often as the men.

These are among other findings of the Urban Institute:

• Of the 80 new patrolwomen, all but three who resigned were rated by their district commanders as likely to be recommended for retention on the police force at the end of a 1-year probation. Of the rookie policemen to whom they were compared, all but one who resigned and one who went on military leave were rated as likely to receive a recommendation for retention.

• The commanders rated the women as equal to men in some skills (ability to deal with the public, to handle a disorderly female, to handle an accident, and to make a crime report), and only slightly less competent than men in general patrol skills. However, women did not do so well in their commanders' ratings of their ability to handle disorderly males, public fights, and other violent situations. The lowest rating the women received was of their ability to protect a partner from violence.

• More of the policemen made felony arrests than did the policewomen—61 percent of the men, compared with 47 percent of the women. Also, the policewomen averaged fewer arrests for misdemeanors and gave fewer citations for moving traffic violations. The institute report tempers these statistics with a word of caution: "Arrest data are difficult to interpret without knowing how often the arrests result in prosecution or have to be dropped by the prosecutor for lack of evidence or some other defect." It notes that unsound arrests might be counted against rather than for an officer. To help evaluate these data, researchers are assembling information on the disposition of arrests.

• Observers who rode in police cars to measure the performance of patrol officers found that teams with policewomen had to handle about the same number of situations involving violence or threats of violence, and people who were injured, unconscious, or intoxicated as the all-male teams.

• Fewer women than men passed the police department's driving test—66 percent, compared with 88 percent of the "comparison men." On patrol, policewomen drove 30 percent of the time, while rookie patrolmen drove 40 percent of the time. However, these men had six accidents and the policewomen had none. Similar percentages of women and men who passed the driving test were certified as competent to patrol alone.

• Observers found that rookie policewomen were more likely than rookie policemen to be given instructions by their patrol partners, and they "are less likely to take charge at an incident in which their partner is present." Women were rated as taking "complete charge" in 3 percent of the incidents, compared with 15 percent for the men. They were said to have acted "equal with partner" in 30 percent of the incidents, compared with 40 percent for the men.

Community Reaction Good

Community reaction to the use of patrolwomen was good. In telephone interviews with more than 400 persons in the experimental and the comparison districts, researchers learned that more than two-thirds of the people were either neutral or approved having women on patrol. The researchers also asked people who were present at incidents involving a policewoman to rate her understanding, respectfulness, and handling of the situation. In these surveys, 38 percent of the people said policewomen did a very good job; 25 percent said they did a good job.

In the continuation of this study, researchers will be able to turn up information on a substantial number of policewomen who will be patrolling alone, with other women, or with male partners of the same or less seniority, the institute says. Among other things, it expects to get a better reading on how women perform in violent or potentially violent situations, and to learn whether additional experience affects women's performance on patrol, their self-image as patrolwomen, and policemen's attitudes about them in this role.

Meanwhile, other jurisdictions also are opening new doors to women in law enforcement.

In *Women in Policing*, a Police Foundation study published last year, foundation assistant director Catherine Milton reported on changes taking place in several U.S. cities. For example, in Miami all but 2 of the 37 women in the department were doing work identical to that of male officers. None of the cities in her study, however, was using women in as wide a variety of functions as does the District of Columbia police department.

Recently, the New York State Police announced that for the first time in history women would be among the new recruits starting training at the police academy this fall. After training in the same program as men, women are to be assigned to regular patrol duty.

And at Scotland Yard in London, women bobbies recently gained job equality with men. The Yard has closed its women's department, which for 54 years gave women a confined role—caring for lost children and for women prisoners. Women at the Yard now are integrated into other departments and the official word has gone out that there are no more restrictions on what a woman police officer may do or on how high she may rise.

"Women now are eligible for the commissioner's job," a Yard spokesman said recently. □

SYNOPSIS

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Words & Figures

Technology Mobilization and Reemployment

The Technology Mobilization and Reemployment Program (TMRP) terminated on June 30, 1973, a little more than 2 years after its inception. The program began in April 1971 to deal with unemployment of engineers, scientists, and technicians that was caused primarily by cutbacks in Federal expenditures in the defense and aerospace industries. At the time the program was launched, it was estimated that there were 50,000 to 65,000 unemployed engineers, scientists, and technicians, and the quarterly unemployment rate for engineers was 3.2 percent. The most recent estimate places the unemployment rate for engineers at 1.2 percent for the second quarter of 1973.

Functioning through local employment service offices, TMRP provided jobless engineers, scientists, and technicians with help in finding jobs or opportunities for retraining and with grants to travel to job interviews and to pay moving expenses to a job located in a different area.

A total of 52,200 persons registered with the employment service for TMRP between April 1, 1971 and June 30, 1973. Of this number, 59 percent were engineers, 36 percent were technicians, and 5 percent were scientists.

The employment service offices aided 33,100 registrants—almost 2 out of every 3—in locating jobs; 11,900 were placed by the employment service and another 21,200 found their own jobs with assistance from the program.

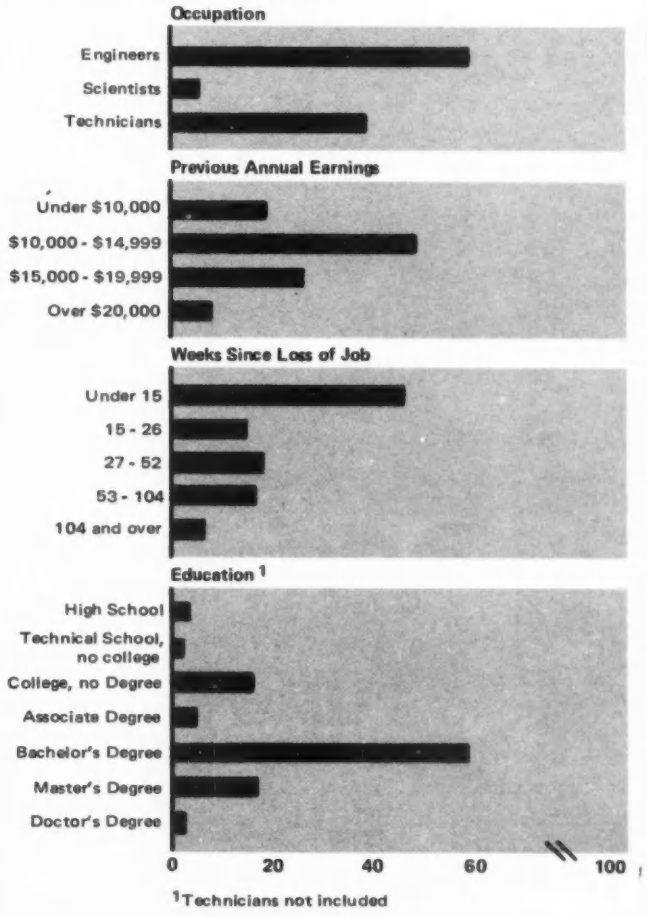
As for services other than placements, 4,800 of the 52,200 registrants received job search grants; 4,400 sought new skills through further education and training; and 2,000 obtained grants for relocating to jobs in different areas.

Three other important facets of TMRP were the National Registry for Engineers; the Volunteer Engineer, Scientist, and Technician (VEST) Program; and the Technology Utilization Project. Approximately 24,000 engineers, scientists, and technicians filed applications with the Registry, which was located in Sacramento, Calif., and used computers to try to match up registrants with openings submitted by employers. Through VEST, some 15,600 jobless professionals voluntarily helped employment service personnel carry out various aspects of TMRP, especially job development. The Technology Utilization Project, conducted by the National Society of Professional Engineers, sent 700 engineers back to college for short courses to prepare them for new career fields.

Program activities were concentrated in areas hardest hit by aerospace and defense cutbacks. Therefore, about a third of all registrations, 17,545, were in California. The next three ranking States in registrations were Massachusetts with 4,300, Texas with 4,200, and New York with 4,000.

Of the States with the most registrants, Massachusetts had the highest proportion—80 percent—who obtained jobs with employment service assistance. The comparable figures were 63 percent in California, 63 percent in Texas, and 62 percent in New York.

Technology Mobilization and Reemployment Program
Characteristics of Applicants - Percent



[1] Technicians not included

Van Carroll, vice president of the Corpsmen Government at Jacobs Creek, gave Secretary of Labor Peter J. Brennan a shillelagh "because your background is Irish."

Building for the Future

by Frances Ridgway

Labor Secretary Visits Job Corps Centers Where Youngsters Learn Construction Trades

"I was a professional street roamer."

That's the way Van Carroll sums up his life before entering the Job Corps at the Jacobs Creek Civilian Conservation Center in the Cherokee National Forest, near Bristol, Tenn.

Carroll was one of many Corpsmen Secretary of Labor Peter J. Brennan met and talked with on his recent visit to Jacobs Creek and the Job Corps' Great Onyx Civilian Conservation Center at Mammoth Cave National Park, northeast of Bowling Green, Ky. This was Brennan's

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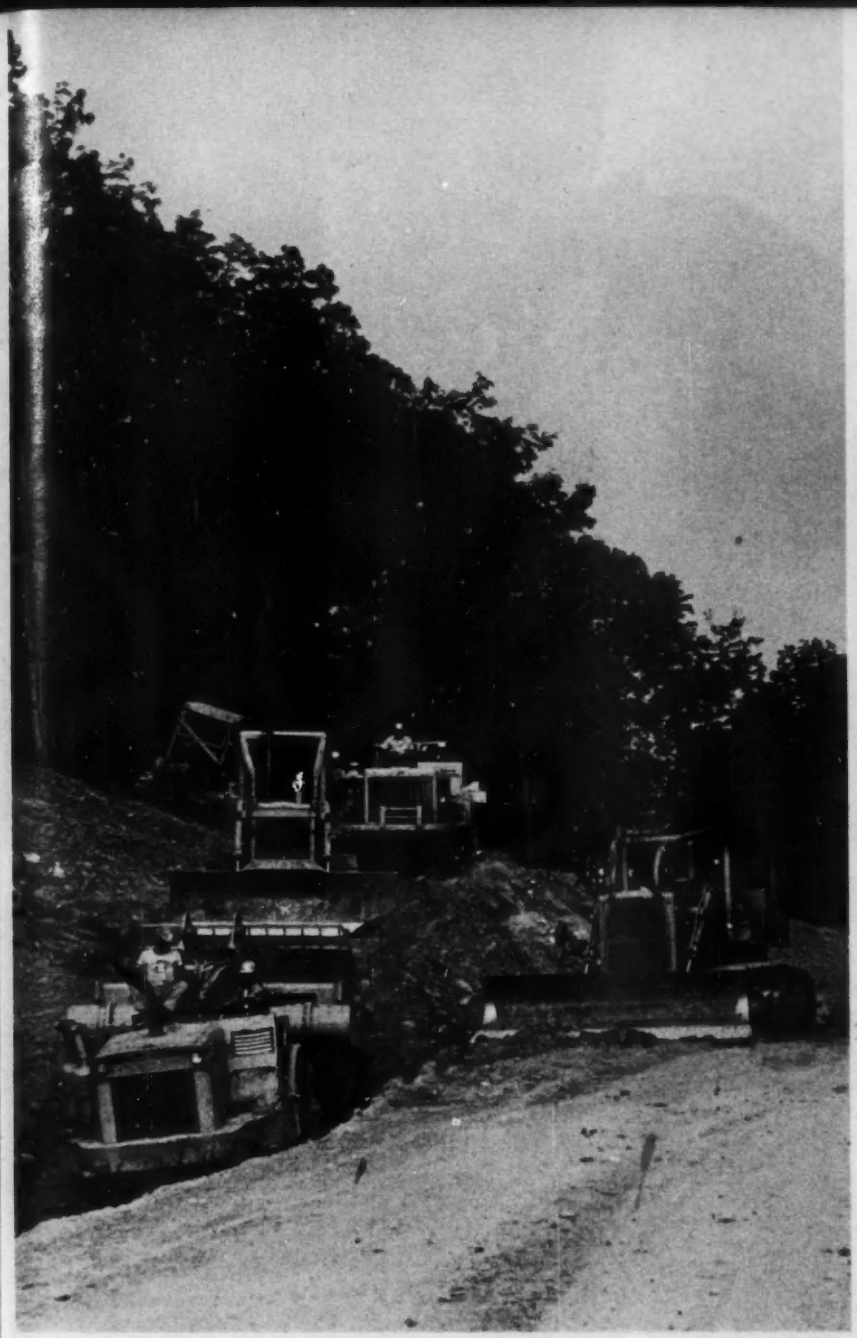
Frances Ridgway is a U.S. Department of Labor information officer in Atlanta.



Building roads is one way Jacobs Creek corpsmen get practical experience in heavy equipment operation.

Brennan chats with Corpsman Gerardo Moriel about the progress of a new road Moriel is helping to build in the Cherokee National Forest near the Jacobs Creek Center.

first on-the-spot look at the Job Corps. He was accompanied on the trip by Assistant Secretary of Labor for Manpower William Kolberg and other Labor Department officials, and by top national officials of five unions—the Operative Plasterers, Carpenters, Bricklayers, Painters, and Operating Engineers—which conduct skill training at Job Corps centers.

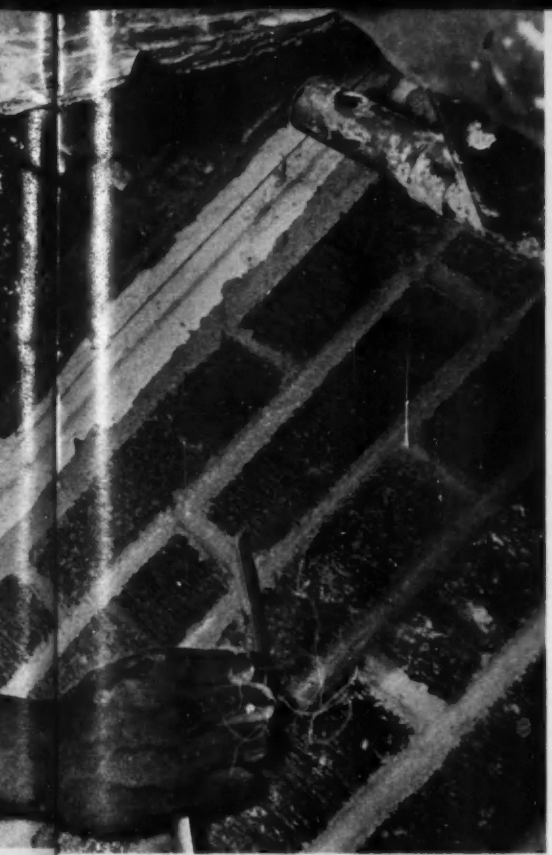
There are 65 Job Corps facilities operated throughout the country under the overall supervision of the U.S. Labor Department's Manpower Administration. Individual facilities are run by private businesses, nonprofit organizations, or govern-

Building

ment agencies under contracts or agreements with the Manpower Administration. Jacobs Creek is operated by the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Forest Service and Great Onyx by the U.S. Department of the Interior's National Park Service.

Job Corps centers provide residential training and rehabilitation for more than 21,000 disadvantaged youth between the ages of 16 and 21. In addition to vocational training, Corpsmen get basic education, health care, and help in finding jobs. A participant may remain at a center as long as 2 years, but the average

Carpentry, bricklaying, and painting are among the construction skills taught at Great Onyx.



stay is about 6 months. Participants earn a basic allowance of $30 a month and promotions can raise that to as much as $50. In addition, a readjustment allowance of $50 a month is set aside to be paid the trainee when he leaves the program, as long as he stays at least 6 months.

Brennan was anxious to know as much as possible about the enrollees he met, including their reaction to the Job Corps. Carroll explained that his parents had long ago abandoned him, along with his four sisters and brothers, leaving much of his upbringing to the Joseph P. Kennedy,

Stephen Henry demonstrates his carpentry skills for Secretary Brennan and Philip Davis, director of the Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance.

Jr. Memorial Home in New York City's Bronx.

Carroll, who has been elected vice president of the Corpsmen Government at Jacobs Creek, told Brennan he dropped out of school after the ninth grade. "You can't knock the school system," he said. "It's trying to do the job, but nowadays a lot of kids like me aren't interested in it. It's easier to take off like I used to—go to the beach when it's too hot. But you can run only so long and then you're going to hit a brick wall, and I took me a long run before I came here."

Job Corps No 'Copout'

One of the things Carroll likes best about Job Corps is "there are no teachers scribbling things down on a blackboard or telling you to turn to page 6. What you get out of Job Corps is basically up to you."

Wayne McKinney of the Jacobs Creek staff said Carroll is making "excellent progress" toward earning his high school equivalency certificate and, at the same time, is doing well in his occupational training.

After completing Job Corps, Carroll hopes to spend some time in the Navy and eventually go on to college. "I'd really like to do social work," he said "especially with children and teenagers."

In the meantime, he can go back to the Bronx on leave from the center once a year. "That's something I can wait on," he said, "because I'm only going back to hitting those streets again. But, when I go, I'm going to talk to the kids and show them papers from here.

"Once those kids see the guys up on the big equipment at Jacobs Creek and see the status of the ones going out on jobs, pushing those carts around in the supermarket just ain't going to get it anymore. They're going to want to get in the Job Corps.

"When I left to come here, the guys I ran around with said it was a copout. I'm going to tell them if it's a copout, it's the hardest one I've ever been involved in."

Another Corpsman Brennan visited with at Jacobs Creek was Gerardo Moriel. About 2 years ago Moriel, who is of Mexican extraction began looking for work. His family of seven was having a hard time making ends meet, and Moriel hoped to ease the situation by landing a good job. He immediately ran into language problems, however.

Moriel liked what a friend told him about the Job Corps and enrolled in the center at Curlew, Wash. He earned a high school equivalency certificate there and transferred last April to Jacobs Creek to take heavy equipment training.

This training is conducted by the International Union of Operating Engineers, with graduation from the program requiring 1,000 hours of work with road building and other heavy equipment used in various types of construction. Sixty of the center's 168 enrollees are in the program. The training is designed to prepare Corpsmen to become apprentice operating engineers. As a part of their instruction, Jacobs Creek trainees are completing several miles of dual-lane roads in the area surrounding the center.

Moriel hopes to go to college someday and feels this education, combined with his Job Corps training, would provide an excellent background for entry into several types of businesses. Toward this end, he, along with several fellow Corpsmen from Jacobs Creek, spent 8 weeks this summer in the Upward Bound Program at Carson Newman College in Jefferson City, Tenn.

Upward Bound is a federally funded national summer college preparatory program for students who have the potential for higher education but lack the educational background and financial resources necessary to fulfill that potential. According to Jacobs Creek officials, participation in Upward Bound can lead to college scholarships.

At Great Onyx, Brennan met some former Corpsmen who graduated from preapprenticeship training at the center into good jobs. Among these were Bailey Brooks, Jr. and S. D. Steen. Both are 23 and earn $49 a day as apprentice painters in Louisville. Four years ago they were tenth-grade dropouts without jobs, work skills, or career goals. Today they have all three and are looking forward to early increases in pay as they enter their third year of apprenticeship.

Four unions—the Bricklayers, Carpenters, Painters, and Operative Plasterers—conduct preapprenticeship training at Great Onyx. Of the 214 Corpsmen currently enrolled at the center, 96 are being trained under these programs.

On his tour Brennan saw some of the $250,000 worth of construction and renovation Great Onyx Corpsmen carry out in the park and nearby towns each year.

Top Placement Record

Noting the scope and success of preapprenticeship training at both the Tennessee and Kentucky centers, Brennan pointed out the "remarkable" 96 percent job placement record for graduates of the union-operated programs in 33 Job Corps centers. This is the highest rate achieved by any federally funded manpower program. Brennan emphasized that these graduates are getting good jobs. "This year we expect to place at least 1,200 trainees at an average wage of $4 an hour," he said.

Brennan praised the unions participating in Job Corps preapprenticeship training and pledged his full support to the effort, including a "significant increase" in the number of training slots available for union programs. □

Industry Help for Black Colleges

Top Firms Give Advice and Equipment as Well as Money

by John J. O'Connell

IBM's Dale Hance chats with students Marguerite Reed and Daisy Harris (right) on the Morgan State campus. Talks between representatives of firms or industries participating in the Cluster program and students often cover social issues as well as job opportunities.

Chronic poverty has long afflicted colleges whose enrollments are predominately black. There are 128 such colleges —mostly in the South. Their 120,000 students represent nearly half of all black undergraduates in the country. Many of these schools are much nearer collapse than big universities whose financial woes are periodically aired in the press.

According to the Conference Board, a business research organization, business "has failed to share its expertise with the universities, and in some instances this could be more helpful than its gifts. Too frequently the businessman has loaned his name to a committee, or even to the college's board of trustees, but failed to participate in the decisionmaking process as he does in his own company."

This lack of business "followthrough" certainly is not the case with many black colleges. A steady parade of representatives of some of the Nation's largest firms appears regularly on black college campuses across the country to lend a hand in solving their problems. Representatives from companies such as American Oil, Bethlehem Steel, and IBM, as well as from local businesses, are finding that involvement with black colleges pays off for both parties.

Corporate involvement in the day-to-day faculty and student problems on black campuses resulted from a program conceived by the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB). In 1968 NAB developed an outline for a national program through which the business community and major universities would help minority colleges. The outline permitted the minority colleges and the volunteers to work out details themselves.

John J. O'Connell is a vice president of Bethlehem Steel Corporation in charge of industrial relations, which includes college relations.

Black Colleges

Mike Hubbard, Bethlehem Steel's college relations representative, and a Morgan State College student demonstrate the reason Hubbard helped the college set up a new placement center—previously interviewing had to be done in lobbies, hallways, and unused rooms all over the campus.

Members of the science subcommittee of Morgan State's Cluster program don't lack work when they get together for meetings. Faculty, students, and industry representatives serve on the subcommittees, which usually focus on matters referred by the overall Cluster executive committee.

Now known as the Cluster Concept, the program is an effort to make available to black colleges the expertise and resources—not necessarily just financial—of business and major universities. The corporate checkbook is, of course, always welcome, but the talents and equipment industry can bring to black colleges also is a valuable, and virtually untapped, resource.

Today, more than 400 leading employers are involved in the Cluster program at 61 predominately black colleges and universities. Six large universities with predominately white enrollments also are actively involved with employers and minority colleges.

The nature of industry's involvement in this program varies according to the need of the minority school. At North Carolina State University at Greensboro, for instance, Bethlehem Steel's advertising division developed and printed a brochure to help recruit graduate engineering students for the university.

At Tennessee State University at Nashville, business firms donated equipment for a radio station. Students and faculty assembled and wired the broadcast units and a local radio station provided training. Also, Western Electric and IBM have loaned executives to teach classes for a full academic year at Tennessee State.

At Atlanta University's Morehouse College, industry representatives and college officials decided to tackle financial problems on a functional basis. Western Electric's engineering staff did a survey of maintenance costs at the school, then helped the school develop a preventive maintenance program for buildings, grounds, and equipment. The result is $30,000 in annual savings.

At Morgan State College in Baltimore, industry representatives worked on committees formed to determine and analyze the needs of various school departments: Business and economics; library, speech, English, and public relations; placement counseling and cooperative education; and science. In addition to the valuable, but intangible, benefits such as learning about a business approach to factfinding and progressive problem solving, Morgan State administrators have some substantial physical evidence to prove the success of its Cluster program.

The Science Department was given equipment to expand its teaching resources, including a surplus spectrometer (an instrument for measuring wave lengths of light) from Bethlehem Steel and a surplus gas chromatograph (a device that separates and identifies gases by color) donated by E. I. du Pont de Nemours.

A student assembles a precision balance scale donated by industry in Morgan State College's scientific equipment preparation room.

ANTI-SOCIAL

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Black Colleges

The college's placement office quarters, which Bethlehem's Cluster representative Mike Hubbard called "among the worst" a year ago, are now up to standard. Because Hubbard had complained about interviewing and counseling students in the hallways and in temporarily unused rooms all over the campus, he volunteered to help set up a new facility. The college cleared space in the basement of the administration building and put in some lighting and partitions. A letter from Hubbard to industrial Cluster members brought in desks, chairs, filing cabinets, coatracks, literature display stands, and a wall clock.

"I admit to being called a corporate scavenger," said Hubbard, "but I knew that many corporations have office equipment that is no longer used. The need at Morgan was so desperate that getting this name was worth it."

Industries Benefit Too

This kind of help is not purely selfless. As Bernie Deaton, Western Electric's coordinator of community relations and public affairs, puts it: "Industry cannot come in a spirit of sympathy, but must come in a spirit of mutual help. We participate in the Cluster program at Morgan State and 29 other black colleges because we hire their graduates. And the more we help the colleges, the more we help ourselves.

The hiring of black graduates from small minority schools often has been overlooked by many national industries because of the curricula these schools traditionally offer. Until recently many black colleges did not emphasize business because they felt their graduates would not have a chance to enter the business world.

That has changed. Business is finding that graduates of black colleges now are highly motivated toward a business career. And this motivation, Cluster members have discovered, can best be stimulated further by industry representatives in the Cluster program, who often are professional recruiters. While working with the schools on maintenance, equipment, and facility problems, these representatives also are scouting for future administrators, salesmen, engineers, and scientists. Their hunting ground is not necessarily limited to the senior class—freshmen and sophomores are sought out and counseled to start them thinking about job opportunities after graduation.

Many college freshmen and sophomores, especially in black schools, have no idea what major they wish to pursue. Nor do they have any realistic concept of a career to prepare for. Many who have decided on a major fail to see any job outcome in that field. In both groups, most students are not inclined to examine the real world of work and to make a deliberate career choice. Far too many leave college before the end of their second year—never to return—unaware of career potentials.

Some firms or industries in the Cluster program send representatives to the colleges to talk informally with students and help them explore job opportunities. Another effort to motivate students to look at the world of corporate work is the Let's Talk Program. At Morgan State, this is a weekly coffee hour for faculty, students, and industrial representatives.

Discussions in these two social contact programs often range far beyond job opportunities. The dialogue on charges of discrimination, "excess" profits, and a variety of other issues gives students and faculty alike a person-to-person encounter with the corporate establishment that they never had before.

Industry representatives in these personal encounters discovered that few students were aware of what is expected in a job interview. As a result, video taped mock interviews were held to prepare students for the real thing. Then the interviews were reviewed to pinpoint and correct student errors. Last year, one college reported that 89 percent of the students who had participated in mock interviews received job offers—a significantly higher percentage than for those who did not have this training.

Tapping Human Resources

Another idea aimed at exposing students to the realities of the work world is the minimaster—an on-the-job credit course that will be tried soon. Students will have an opportunity to work for 2 to 3 weeks in an industry related to their interests—a valuable part of the students' education, in the opinion of faculty and industrial Cluster members.

What is the student reaction to this industrial invasion of the campus? Here is what Marguerite Reed, a junior in education at Morgan State, had to say: "A lot of students who are in sociology, history, and other liberal arts feel they're limited as far as their job opportunities go and that they'll have to teach or go into social work. They just don't know what's available to them in industry. A program like Cluster helps."

And what's industry's attitude? According to Western Electric's Bernie Deaton, "Industry is tapping a human resource we've overlooked. Since our Cluster group started counseling, I've found a great improvement in the quality of graduating seniors."

Administrators of the participating minority colleges are, of course, pleased at the financial and educational benefits that have resulted from the program. An equally important benefit, many believe, is that industry is coming to understand and appreciate the vital role that black colleges play. □

'Old' Apprentice Makes New Lather

For a man who was told 4 years ago that he was too old, Paul Dumas has done pretty well.

He has completed an arduous training program and now works regularly as a construction craftsman earning $8 an hour plus fringe benefits. And he has become the proud father of twins.

Of course, Dumas was only 29 when he was informed that he was over the hill, at least as far as becoming an apprentice lather was concerned. Dumas didn't quite see it that way. He wasn't sure exactly what a lather did, but after 10 months of unemployment he was certain he wanted a chance to prove himself in the preapprenticeship training program sponsored by the Builders' Association of Kansas City. The association provides this training under the Manpower Administration's Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program.

Dumas got his chance—and made the most of it. He led his class in the 6-month preapprenticeship period, and maintained an excellent record during the following 3½ years of apprenticeship training. He missed only eight of the evening classes that apprentices are required to attend once or twice a week, most of them when his wife gave birth to twins.

Making ends meet wasn't always easy. In the construction industry, it is often hard to get a full week's work because of weather, downturns in building activity, and seasonal factors. In addition, Dumas endured long, discouraging work stoppages in the summers of 1969 and 1970. Other apprentices quit to take jobs in different fields, but he stuck with the trade.

Now, as a journeyman for Hall of Missouri construction company and a member of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers Union Local 26, Dumas is well acquainted with what lathers do. In addition to putting up lath (the lattice-like framework over which plaster or stucco is applied), he and his fellow craftsmen install metal studs and put up sheets of drywall.

As for the man who told Dumas he was too old—Donald Meyer, training director for the Kansas City Builders' Association—he admits he made a mistake. "Dumas is one of the best trainees we've ever had, and we have 700 attending classes right now," Meyer says. And he backs up the compliment with a prediction that Dumas will make superintendent in 5 or 6 years instead of the usual 8 or 9. □

Book Reviews

Monumental Textbook

Human Resources and Labor Markets: Labor and Manpower in the American Economy

by Sar A. Levitan, Garth L. Mangum, and Ray Marshall

Harper and Row, New York, 1972. 619 pages, $12.95.

Sar Levitan, Garth Mangum, and Ray Marshall have provided the first real textbook on human resources and manpower problems in the United States. It is encyclopedic in scope—29 chapters ranging over such topics as: Work life, work time, and mobility; education in manpower development; women at work; the structure of labor markets; and manpower policies. The book is capped by an excellent chapter on manpower issues for the 1970's that should be read by every student entering the manpower field.

One obvious strength of the book is that it represents "10 years in the vineyards of manpower policy" of three of the most influential writers on human resource problems in the last decade.

Like any undertaking of this kind, the book has some shortcomings. I have used the book in two social work classes on manpower and have encountered three problems. First and foremost, the book is an economics text (all three authors are economists). There are a considerable number of noneconomic inputs but the interdisciplinarian will find this to be a narrow but basic text. Missing from the authors' development is considerable important material from psychology, sociology, organizational theory, and research.

Second, the content of the book is uneven in style although not in quality. Each of the three authors has idiosyncratic styles of his own and the copy editor found it impossible to mute these. Finally, the range of materials and topics is so broad that an idea gets a quick once-over without any treatment in depth. One gets the feeling that the authors tried to say everything there was to say on the subject without going into detail.

The voluminous and encyclopedic nature of the book makes it something that has to be read slowly over time rather than in one quick reading. Like any textbook, some parts are better than others. Four chapters are as good as anything to be found in manpower literature: "Work and Welfare;" "Black Income and Employment;" "Manpower and Economic Policies;" and "The Role of Vocational-Technical Education."

Three chapters are good but not outstanding: "The Role of the Public Employment Service;" "Job Creation Programs;" and "Skills for the Disadvantaged." The problems defined and discussed in these chapters are quite selective and some important areas are thus overlooked. For example, in the discussion of the public employment service the challenge posed by civil rights groups to the operation of the public employment service is ignored. Yet this issue gives evidence of being increasingly important in the future.

In at least two chapters, there is much that could have been done but was not. "Delivering Manpower Services" never really comes to grips with operational problems in managing local manpower service delivery systems. It lacks an organizational perspective by which one could make sense of the problems and solutions discussed.

"Counseling and Guidance for Occupational Choice" is a rather antiseptic treatment of a service that really is much more controversial and dynamic than presented in this text. There are alternative perspectives in counseling that are not presented and the relationship of supportive services to the counseling process is not spelled out or developed.

But, judged against the end product, these criticisms are relatively minor. This is a monumental work that will stand for some time with revisions. It is a must for private and public library collections on manpower and no worker in the manpower field can afford to neglect this as a basic reference text.

Louis Ferman

Putting Sex in Its Place

Corporate Lib—Women's Challenge to Management

Edited by Eli Ginzberg and Alice M. Yohalem

Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1973. 152 pages, $6.50.

The title of this book and the name of the magazine in which it is being reviewed are indicative of the institutionalized nature of the attitudes feminists intend to change. It should be obvious why women who are working for equality of opportunity in the workplace would object to the name MANPOWER.

As for the book, corporate liberation is certainly necessary. But the media-created, flip term "lib" suggests a frivolous and trivializing treatment of a serious subject. Such is not the case with the papers, presentations, and thoughts about a 1971 Conference on Women's Challenge to Management that make up the book. The date of the conference proves how late the dawning of consciousness came for much of management, but even that was progress for some.

Mary Sarah Fasenmyer's contribution to the book includes the superb suggestion that social justice be taught in our classrooms—though one must wonder if many educators must learn it before they can teach it.

William Goode gives excellent reality checks on the conditioned cunning of some entrenched men. These men embody the Peter Principle: They ultimately rise to the level of their incompetence and, ostensibly, function. Women, on the other hand, have yet to reach their level of competence.

Michael H. Moskow's paper, "Government in the Lead," is a misnomer because he fails to detail how feminists achieved the laws and Executive orders dealing with discrimination against women by pushing, pressing, embarrassing, and educating the Government to take some reactive action. Feminists, not the Government, have been the vanguard in this area of social justice.

Juanita Kreps, in "The Sources of Inequality," asks some of the right questions. For example, is not the double standard of behavioral evaluation a part of the problem?

Eli Ginzberg's summary chapter, "Challenge and Resolution," may be provocative news for some of management and some women, though not for vanguard feminists. He advises more militancy and "unladylike" behavior as a new idea when the National Organization for Women (NOW) has been giving such advice—and acting on it—for nearly 7 years. Indeed, one wonders why a book subtitled *Women's Challenge to Management* nowhere credits or lists and organization like NOW.

One fears that Ginzberg's real estimate of the relative importance of the subject of the book is revealed in this quote: "For example, given the complex problems that a cabinet officer faces, he (sic) cannot be expected to spend more than a half hour twice a year on expanding opportunities for women under his jurisdiction." Based on a 40-hour week and a 48-week year, that is a maximum of five ten-thousandths of 1 percent of the cabinet officer's time. Judged on the basis of that statement, corporate and Ginzberg's liberation (though not that of all the book's contributors) has hardly begun.

Corporate liberation as delineated in this book will help put sex in its place and women and men in self-defined places. In the process, the book suggests that women not only will share, guide, and change "the action," but men will be liberated for the potentially humanizing experience of child care.

Wilma Scott Heide

The Reviewers

Louis Ferman is research director of the Institute for Industrial Relations of the University of Michigan-Wayne State University.

Wilma Scott Heide is president of the National Organization for Women.

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Publications

Following is a selected list of publications on manpower and related matters. Single copies of Manpower Administration publications for which no price is indicated can be obtained free by writing or telephoning the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210. Requests for free publications of the Bureau of Labor Statistics should be sent directly to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20212. Requests for free publications of other organizations should be sent directly to the source specified in the listing. Please enclose a self-addressed label with all requests for free publications. For publications not available free, write the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, and enclose payment.

Directory for Reaching Minority Groups

Manpower Administration directory lists, alphabetically by State and city, names, addresses, and telephone numbers of the organizations and individuals who are able to reach minority groups to tell them about job training and job opportunities. Also lists black universities and colleges and black fraternities and sororities.

National Apprenticeship Standards for Automotive Machinist

Manpower Administration booklet contains standards of apprenticeship, adopted by the Automotive Service Industry Association, formulated to provide well-planned, properly supervised training for apprentices in order to develop competent automotive machinists to meet present and future needs.

Employment of Recent College Graduates

Bureau of Labor Statistics report examines the job status in October 1971 of recent college graduates and whether they obtained work in their chosen fields. Specify BLS Special Labor Force Report 151.

Meeting Health Manpower Needs Through More Effective Use of Allied Health Workers

Summarizes findings and discusses implications of several research and development studies—most of which were sponsored by the Manpower Administration — dealing with varied problems concerning the supply and training of allied health manpower. Specify Manpower Research Monograph No. 25. 50 cents.

Directory of Minority College Graduates, 1971-1972

Manpower Administration book lists 60,000 minority college graduates from 1,200 colleges and universities for 1971 and 1972 with a wide range of specific educational disciplines. Gives name, address, sex, minority group, and degree awarded for each graduate. $8.

Children of Working Mothers, March 1973

Bureau of Labor Statistics report on the race, income, type, and size of families with children under 18 years old and in which the mother is in the labor force. Specify BLS Special Labor Force Report 154.

The Manpower Research Institutional Grant Program: A Progress Report, 1966-73

Pamphlet summarizes areas of study and other activities undertaken by 19 colleges and universities under Manpower Administration grants to strengthen research and educational efforts in the manpower field.

Productivity and the Economy

Bureau of Labor Statistics chartbook prepared for the National Commission on Productivity. Shows productivity trends, the implications of productivity growth in terms of price and cost stability, and factors such as capital investment, technological change, and labor quality which affect productivity growth. Specify BLS Bulletin 1779. 95 cents.

Correctional Manpower Programs

Pamphlet gives a brief account of various Manpower Administration efforts to provide vocational training and job-finding assistance to ex-offenders through research, demonstration, and pilot projects. These projects include a Federal bonding program, pretrial intervention, inmate training, and model State employment service programs.

Selected Books and Monographs From the Research and Development Program

Bibliography listing selected literature, resulting from the Manpower Administration's research and development program, under the headings: Demand for Labor; Supply of Labor; Workers with Special Employment Problems; The Labor Market; and Manpower Policy, Cost-Benefit Analyses, and Program Administration and Planning.

WIN/OJT—Cutting the Cost of Training Workers

Manpower Administration leaflet, directed to employers, tells how the Work Incentive (WIN) Program helps employers save on costs of training new workers while it helps people move off welfare rolls. Briefly describes eligibility requirements for on-the-job training contracts and tax credits available to employers in the WIN Program.

Career Education: An R&D Plan

Report, prepared for Department of Health, Education, and Welfare by Rand Corporation, provides a conceptual framework for research and development (R&D) in career education, examines some currently supported activities as they relate to that framework and as sources for further work, and derives from these two sources a possible program plan and some R&D strategies for the National Institute of Education Program. Specify R-1199-HEW. Available from the Publications Department, Rand Corporation, 1700 Main Street, Santa Monica, California 90406. $4. Single copies available free to U.S. Government agencies.

The Manufacturing Quit Rate: Trends, Cycles, and Interindustry Variations

A paper by John F. Early and Paul A. Armknecht of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Discusses the behavior of the quit rate and the qualities which make it a desirable indicator of present and future economic activity. Explores in some detail factors that determine quit propensities among industries and the shifting bases for quit decisions over the past decade. Specify BLS Staff Paper 7. 45 cents.

Outlook for Technology and Manpower in Printing and Publishing

A study, made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which focuses on the impact of new technology on productivity, employment, and occupational requirements in the printing and publishing industry and describes methods of adjustment. Information for the study was obtained in field visits to printing establishments using new technologies, from experts in industry, labor, and government, and from secondary source materials such as trade and technical journals. Specify BLS Bulletin 1774. 75 cents.

Nurse Staffing Methodology: A Review and Critique of Selected Literature

Comprehensive sourcebook published by the National Institutes of Health. Contains detailed, critical assessments of nearly 200 major studies in the area of nurse staffing, plus a bibliography itemizing more than 1,000 books, research reports, and other literature on the subject. $5.80.

Employment and Earnings, United States, 1909-72

Bureau of Labor Statistics tenth comprehensive data book on employment, hours, earnings, and labor turnover. Also contains manhour and payroll indexes and introduces historical data on job vacancies. Specify BLS Bulletin 1312-9. $6.40.

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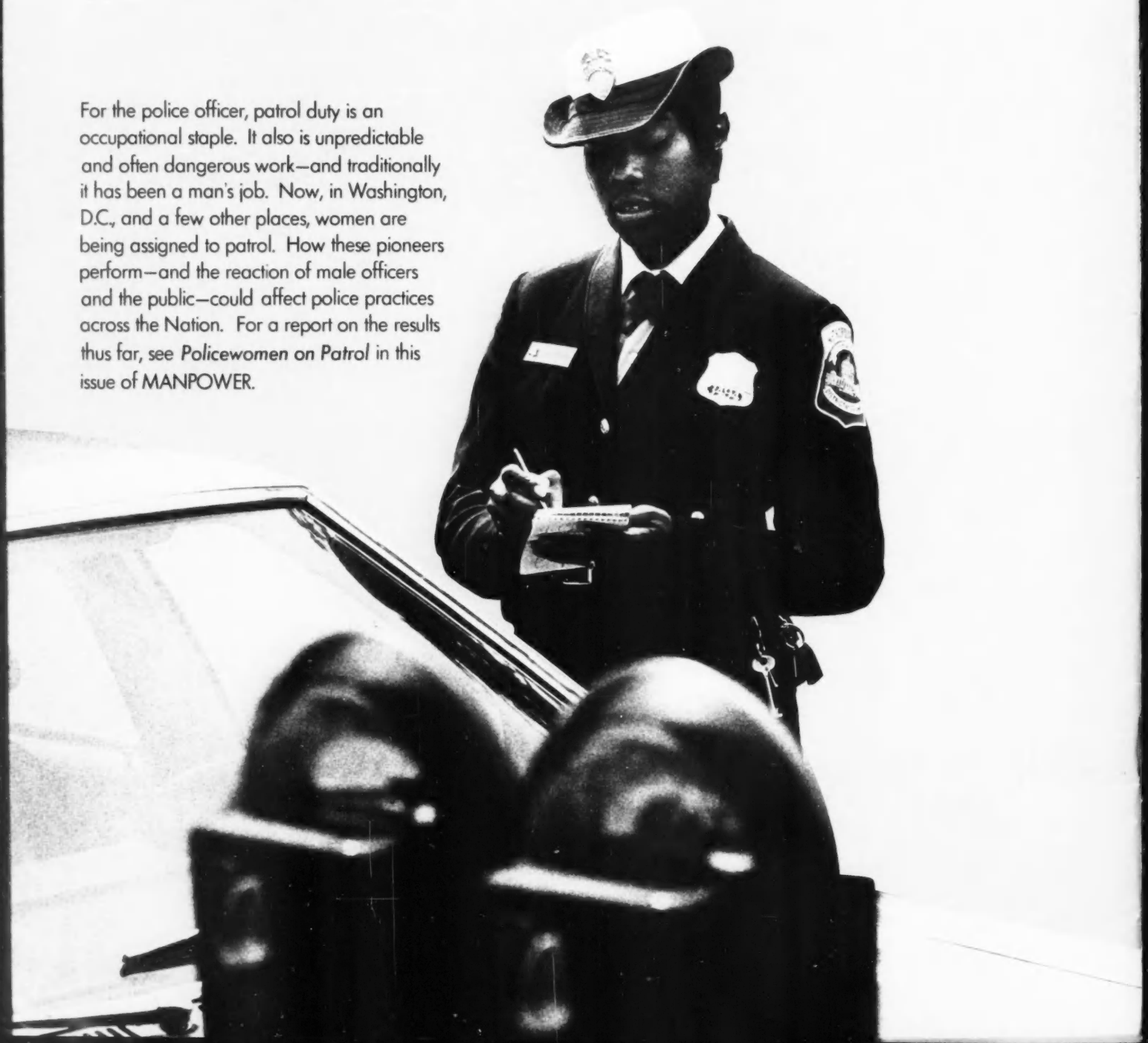
For the police officer, patrol duty is an occupational staple. It also is unpredictable and often dangerous work—and traditionally it has been a man's job. Now, in Washington, D.C., and a few other places, women are being assigned to patrol. How these pioneers perform—and the reaction of male officers and the public—could affect police practices across the Nation. For a report on the results thus far, see *Policewomen on Patrol* in this issue of MANPOWER.



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